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One of the reasons for telling the child about the underworld is to warn him of the machinations of ghosts who strive to lure him thither:

This is what I learned from my older relatives. The ghosts are supposed to go around in the early part of the night and then again when it gets on toward morning, from about two o'clock on. That's the old Chiricahua belief.

Toward morning a person will be dreaming. He dreams that ghosts are bothering him. He dreams of the underworld and the people there. Some of them he knows, some he doesn't know. He sees the beautiful land. They offer him food, a piece of yucca fruit or bread. When I was small my father and the older people told me that if I dreamed this I should not accept the fruit, for, if you accept it, it means that you are going to die and go to that place yourself.

The fear of the departed, and especially of departed relatives, plays a conspicuous part in adult life, in ideas of witchcraft, in aspects of social organization, and in shamanism. The basis for this is solidly laid in childhood:

I was pretty thin when I was a child. . . . . I used to be very much afraid too. I was influenced a great deal by the Indian beliefs about ghosts and used to get scared at night. I'd go over to someone else's bed and force myself upon him. Often I'd wake up screaming in the middle of the night, thinking I had seen someone near my bed. I'd dream of ghosts. A face would be bending over me, laughing. It would be just an outline, no features showing.

. . . . I always had a tendency to look back and see if anyone was following me when I was out at night. This is what the Chiricahua call being influenced by ghosts; I must have been suffering from ghosts.

Sometimes the child's panic reaches such proportions that a ceremony must be conducted over him:

Once when I was a boy we children were playing out at night. As I was coming home I felt that someone was touching me. I became frightened, ran home, fell in the door, and became sick. They performed a ghost ceremony over me. The shaman worked a fire drill. The first sparks that came he put in my mouth.[4] I came to my senses. Then the shaman prayed and finally he sang. I was small and do not remember more of the details.

There are cases where a child's ailment, though the symptoms are not so transparent, is finally interpreted as ghost or "darkness" sickness (to use the approved euphemism) and dealt with

[4] An evidence of the opposition of fire and the ghost (owl) which is believed to exist.

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605 834 If you hide from your cousin, then anything she has, whether it is money or property, or anything else, she will give to you. You can't refuse a request from a person who hides from you. And it's the same for you if she needs anything.

[183] Since cousin avoidance is voluntary, where it will lead to complications or where the individuals concerned are likely to be thrown together constantly, it is seldom begun.

582 602 769 If marriage between cousins is prohibited, is it not difficult, in view of the small population, for a young person to find a suitable mate? Sometimes this problem does arise, and young men have been known to journey far from their homes for the purpose of making contacts which could lead to marriage. That the issue does not become more serious is due to two factors: the mobility and extensive range of these people and their anxiety to eliminate all mention and memory of the dead. Because of the first factor, families, except for nuclear groups of very close kin, tend to move apart and lose contact with each other. And because the names and antecedents of the departed are seldom mentioned, connections between remoter kin are soon forgotten when the families are separated.

605 834 182 When circumstances warrant, the cousin avoidance may be terminated and the more ordinary manner of behavior toward a relative of this degree resumed. The details of the procedure are the same as those governing the abrogation of affinal-avoidance.[15]

886 481 782 *Grandparent-grandchild relationships.*—The wish for long life and old age is constantly expressed in prayer and ceremonial song. The staff on which the old person leans has become a symbol of this concept. As one commentator wryly observed: "They pray for the old age staff. They say, 'Let me be old, let me have the old age stick.' If you have the old age stick that means you have reached a long life. But when they get it, they don't like it."

888 887 [787] [852] [276] It is considered a good omen if an old person blesses a child or performs a ceremony over him, for even as this individual's power and ceremony have preserved him to a ripe age, they may protect the child for a generous time span. The same notion is present in the preparation of the first cigarette. "A person's first

[15] See pp. 174–75.

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The last run is made so that the girl will be strong, so that she will be a good runner and have a good heart [i.e., be brave]. Some used to run about a quarter of a mile to the east this last time. Because of this some girls became as good runners as men in the old days. If they have far to go, they do not have to run all the way. They can alternate between walking and running.

881
As the girl approaches the ceremonial structure for the last [793]
time, the attendant calls; the main poles are pushed to the east; [346]
and, as favors are tossed in the air and the children scramble for [431]
them, the girl makes her way to the encampment of her parents.

The temporary camps that have been established for the [346]
period of the rite begin to disappear. The poles of the ceremonial
structure lie unmolested; they may not be used for firewood.

The girl's family stays on the grounds four days after the ceremony ends. [271]
During that time the girl can't wash and has to wear her costume. She must use [413]
the scratcher and reed for these four days too.

The girl has still another ritual duty to perform:

The little ceremony where the girl gives the horse takes place four days after the close of the big feast. A horse, any kind of a horse, is required. It always was so and has been handed down. She is still dressed in her costume. She walks the horse to the singer. That ends it. Her part is now over.

[793]
On the morning of the ninth day "before the sun comes up, the [302]
woman who cares for the girl [attendant] prepares yucca root [515]
and warm water and washes the girl's hair and entire body."

881
The prevailing tone of this ceremony is one of pleasure and 182
promise. The physiological aspects of maturation are little emphasized. The behavior restrictions imposed upon the girl are not irksome, and their violation brings no really dire consequences. She is not isolated but achieves recognition as the central figure of a major social and ritual event during which she is likened to a supernatural being. Her formal introduction to adult status is accomplished in the midst of abundance, ritual safeguards, and festivity; therefore, she has little desire to return to the status which preceded the recognition accorded her.

Many heterogeneous elements combine to produce the girl's puberty rite. The singer, the attendant, the masked-dancer shaman, the dancers themselves, the musical accompanists for the social dance songs—all possess individual prerogatives which are not subject to call. The participation of these persons can

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881 only be guaranteed by separate arrangements between them and
• 182 the sponsors of the ceremony. Various aspects of the rite, such as the masked dancing and the singing within the ceremonial structure, have but the loosest relations to one another from a purely logical point of view. Yet everyone regards the ritual as a unity and accepts that somehow all the necessities will be secured and the integration achieved in time-honored fashion. No threat to individual rights is made, and there is no danger of reprisal for failure to respond. The motive force is primarily psychological. Because the people at large share in the blessing of the girl and because the ceremony provides them with an eagerly awaited social occasion, to take part in the total round of activities becomes almost a public duty.

THE NOVITIATE FOR RAID AND WAR

881 868 702 When the boy reaches the age at which the girl is elevated to womanhood, he is still undergoing the hardening process. Tasks allotted to the young woman can be graduated according to her strength, but the young man on the raid must cover the same distance and suffer the same hardships as the sturdiest member of the party. Therefore, his social maturation is slower.

At about his sixteenth year the youth approaches manly standards. Yet he is not permitted to plunge recklessly from raiding games to the dangerous reality of stealing the horses of the enemy. Instead, he must serve an apprenticeship on his first four raiding or war expeditions. During this period, though he is exposed to a minimum of danger, he acquires the experience which will enable him to undertake with confidence the hazards of war. This novitiate constitutes the conventionalized mechanism through which the youth reaches adult status.

881 868 702 484 Before a boy is accepted as a novice, he learns how to care for himself on the march, especially what to do if he should become separated from the others:

My relatives and the older men told me, "If you are going on a journey from here, have the women pound meat and fat for you, enough for a week. Take water. Then at sundown, just when it is dark enough so that you can't be seen in the distance, start out. Try to make it across the flats and to the mountains on the other side by daybreak. Then get in the brush and look around. Keep in the

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Women, as well as men, claim to control this power: 832 791

T.'s wife has this ceremony. Once when she was full of tiswin she promised to show me what she knew about it. She sang one of the butterfly songs for me. I couldn't get on to it, for I heard it only once. In the morning when she was sober she changed her mind and wouldn't show me any more. In these ceremonies the caterpillar and rope are used with the butterfly. If the butterfly is put in your bed during such a ceremony, you're a "goner"; you are "charmed." [825]

Another ramification of love power is its relation to deer ceremonies: 832 [825]

The man who knows the ceremony of the deer is good at love medicine, they say. He gets any young girl. He will always be poor though. He never has anything but his [illegible] but the girl loves him just the same. [791] [735]

If a person is under the influence of the love ceremony and eats meat from a deer's head, it will cause his own head to swell up. [762]

The main outlines of the love ceremony are now clear. The desired one, lured by flageolet music, is to become as aimless and irresponsible as the butterfly and is to be enmeshed in a net of "ropes" of the sun (sunbeams, sometimes symbolized by pieces of cord). Contact with the person to be influenced is important. Water may be playfully splashed upon him; a beam of light may be directed toward him from some shiny object (another form of the sun motif); a sticky leaf may be flicked at him; a butterfly or a caterpillar may be dropped in his bed; a piece of his clothing or a strand of his hair may be secured. 832 82

The emphasis of the ceremony is upon disarming any contrary will and securing fast the one desired. This explains the seeming intrusion of deer power. The deer ceremony has broadly similar objectives—to induce the animal to be tractable and to hold it in a place from which it may easily be taken. By substituting an object of affection for the game animal, the deer ceremony becomes quite as effective for another purpose. But here a choice must be made. One who decides to use his deer ceremony for love rather than for sustenance will remain poor in material things. 832 825 182 [735]

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583 It would be a mistake to interpret these presents as a "bride price." They do not entitle the husband or his family to any extraordinary control over the wife or her property. In fact, the control exercised by the wife's family over the husband is much more stringent than that to which the woman is subject, despite the total absence of any exchange gifts to the man's family. Moreover, these gifts or their equivalents are never returned, not even in cases of unfaithfulness on the part of the woman or of dissolution of the marriage tie.

[182] [602] [606] The marriage gift functions as initial evidence of the economic support, co-operation, and generosity which a man owes his wife's close relatives. The promise of future assistance can even take the place of the gift on occasion, for it is said that a poor man, unable to muster wealth at the time he wishes to marry, might say: "I am poor, but whatever I am able to accumulate in the way of material things will be yours, for I will be here with you all the time."

The usual practice, after the presents have been received, is to "divide them up among the relatives." Kin of the girl who have contributed to her support and who have been consulted about the marriage arrangements, are sure to receive some part, if only a token offering.

585 [591] As soon as a separate dwelling can be built and equipped, the young couple begin their married life together, without ritual or formalities:

> A day or two after consent is given, the marriage takes place. As soon as everything is ready they start living together. The girl and her female relatives build the house. They put it up near the home of the girl's parents, for the young people usually go to live with the girl's relatives. The relatives of the girl usually furnish baskets and household equipment for the place, though sometimes the man's family may give them things with which to start out.

591 606 This emphasis upon matrilocal residence calls attention to one of the fundamental themes of the culture, for the organization of the economy assumes the presence and the closest co-operation of the sons-in-law.

> A man feels under obligation to his father-in-law. He feels that he should hunt for him. Therefore, there was the tendency in the old days to go to the wife's people. A man's parents recognized this obligation too. They often said, "Well, that's what you married for. You'd better go over there."

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K. avoids my mother-in-law, who is his mother-in-law, too, by a first marriage. When his wife died there were no other available girls in the family. So he married outside the family. Now he avoids B., his present mother-in-law, too.

I hide from my present father-in-law. My first wife's mother was living until recently, and I hid from her too.

Avoidance of the wife's relatives commonly continues, also, after the separation of the married pair. This is all the more remarkable because, with divorce, the family of the woman loses all real claim to the economic support of the former husband.

The perpetuation of the avoidance relations serves a number of functions. It acts as a reminder that marriage is more than a matter of sexual privileges; that it is, in addition, a commitment of co-operation and respect between a man and a family—a commitment which death, remarriage, or divorce cannot entirely efface. Also it encourages a man to remarry into the same family after the death of his wife, for double obligations of this nature loom as a burden to him. Finally, it deters divorce and remarriage into another family with the attendant obligations.

Termination of avoidance in any circumstances is strongly opposed by some informants:

According to the old custom, the person who stops avoiding his in-law is a witch. A man is a fool for stopping. I don't care if you are divorced; it goes on. It could be stopped, of course. I could get angry and say to my wife's relative, "Oh, I'm not going to hide from you any more." But what would people think of me? I wouldn't do it. I'm a good Chiricahua. You can't do it gracefully. The men in the three cases [of duplicate avoidance obligations following remarriage] I have just given you are young fellows. One is thirty-two years old, one is also in his thirties, the oldest is about forty. All were born under government supervision. If the young fellows do it, what do you think about the old fellows? They wouldn't stop doing it. C. told me these forms go on and on.

And yet, under certain conditions, avoidance may be suspended or terminated:[3]

In an emergency, at the birth or death of a member of the family, in a case of life or death, you can go over avoidance and walk right in to the place where your mother-in-law or someone from whom you hide is. But it's not necessary to drop

[3] The procedure described at this point is also used to terminate the cousin avoidances described on pp. 61–62.

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621 596 [582] A great many families of a local group are related, but not all of them. Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that a man has to marry outside the local group. The families who make up the group shift constantly. A family will often go and attach itself to some other local group.

621 222 462 The women of a local group are the ones who would go to gather mescal together. Those who went would go and come from the main group. It might be that they'd split off into smaller parties which would later rejoin. It depends on how thick the mescal is in one place and how many people there are.

621 619 484 The members of the local group can go anywhere in the territory of their band, but they are out of place if they go into the territory of another band. An individual or family of the Southern Chiricahua band might join many Southern Chiricahua local groups in turn. . . . .

621 701 726 At the time of a big raid, men from more than one local group might get together, but those from each locality would stay around their own leader. He acted as a sort of captain for them. When they made camp at night, those from one local group would stay together. For boys' training, the young fellows of a local group are the most that would be brought together at one time.

621 602 182 Though allegiance to the local group is brittle and its composition is constantly changing, it does provide a common name, base, and leadership for its members and gives them the opportunity to engage in certain industries in common. In these matters it cuts across the boundaries of the extended family, and, if a married man has blood relatives in the same local group, it offers him the opportunity to co-operate with these kin for many purposes. This means that his horizon is never entirely limited to the interests of his affinities.

THE WOMAN AND HER HUSBAND'S RELATIVES

602 596 The married woman has no formal obligation to labor for her husband's relatives but is expected to carry on her industrial activities in company with her mother and sisters as a permanent member of the extended family in which she was born. Moreover, none of her husband's kin calls upon her to avoid them. To express approval, some of them may, however, use polite form in speaking to her.

602 195

Relatives of a boy can ask the girl he marries for polite talk if they think much of him. His own brothers and sisters and cousins can do this. The father and mother of the boy don't do this. They regard their son's wife as their own daughter. The brothers and sisters of both the father and the mother can do it though. But they don't have to. It's up to them.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

101 These Apache were a highly mobile group and their [484] geographical background is, therefore, not so well understood as is that of sedentary tribes. Also in the early days of Spanish penetration they were known by various names and confused with other groups. In view of these circumstances it is impracticable to try to fully describe their geographical setting; hence, only a few examples of this aspect of their environment will be presented.

133 The territory through which they ranged constituted a 137 rich variety topographically and climatically, ranging from the flat lowlands of the Southwest, such as the Tularosa Basin, where sagebrush *(Artemisia filifolia)*, creosote bush, Mormon tea, cacti, yuccas, and mesquite comprise the characteristic vegetation; through the low hills where mescal and sotol abound; the foothills of the mountains where one-seeded juniper, piñon, and three-leaved sumac grow in abundance; to the higher elevations covered by growths of western yel- 132 low pine, spruce, and aspen. The mild, sunny winters and 133 devastatingly hot summers of the lowlands contrasted greatly with the severe, snow-ridden winters of the mountains, although the mountains were cool and invigorating 136 during other seasons of the year. The fauna varied with the 133 elevation, too. In the flats were the prairie dogs, rabbits, and antelope; in the mountains, deer, elk, and mountain sheep.

221 Of all this variety the Apache was the master. He moved with the seasonal change of weather, and followed [182] the wild food harvests as they occurred. His adaptation and response to the ecological region in which he lived was sensitive and complete. When the colder weather came he removed to a lower altitude; in summer he was in the high- [222] lands again. When the mesquite and screwbean ripened on the flats, parties of Apache were there to gather them; when the hawthorn hips were ready in the highlands, Apache were nearby to take them. These people knew nature's calendar by heart, and no matter whether a grass seed ripened or a

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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certain animal's fur or flesh was at its best at the particular time, the Apache was present to share in the harvest. 221

In former times the country of the Apache was a difficult one for the uninitiated to cross. The lowlands were hot and dry and made thorny traveling. A glimpse of water turned out more often to be a mirage. Wide arroyos and washes, cut by the torrential flows which often follow the sudden rains of the surrounding mountains, barred the passage. The tangled brush of the foothills made progress slow, and the high ranges were a formidable barrier to one who was not acquainted with the passes and short cuts. 133 484

The Apache made perfect familiarity with this region in all its aspects an ally to his safety. He knew the water holes of the flats. He knew the travel distance from point to point and, therefore, how much food and water to carry. He was aware of the shortest passes and best hiding places in the mountains. If cut off from his own group, he knew where he was likely to find other parties of Apache camping, and he was trained to endure hardship and to shift for himself in this environment until he could make contact with friends. 133 484 182 823

But, though the Apache helped themselves freely to the plant and animal life of the lowlands, it must not be thought that they felt equally at home in both the plains and the mountains. After all, they were essentially mountain people. In the lowlands they had serious competitors, such as the Plains Indians, whom they acknowledged to be their equals and even their masters in knowledge of such country and its resources. But in the mountains they felt confident and secure. Here they had their retreats and their cave caches of food supply laid up against need and emergency. Army officers have commented often enough upon the difficulty of finding and besting the Apache in their mountain stations. 484 182 823 [186] [251] [648]

For the original habitat of the Mescalero, portions of southern New Mexico may be taken as an example. The west side of the great plains of New Mexico, Texas, and Mexico is a region consisting of isolated mountain ranges and intervening plains or broad, open valleys. Several of these val- 133

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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133 level. Numerous canyons cut both sides of the range, and, during the rainy season, many small streams flow a short distance into the valley *(15:*22;*9:*4).

137 [132] Sulphur Spring Valley and adjacent mountains show marked variation in annual precipitation averaging, for the Chiricahua Mountains, more than twenty inches *(15:*78-83). Meinzer's *(15:*182-84) description of the native vegetation of Sulphur Spring Valley drainage basin shows western yellow pine as the dominant vegetation on the higher levels of the Chiricahua Mountains. On the foothills and lower ranges junipers and oaks are common, and in ribbons of timber which stretch along the stream courses, oaks and sycamores are the characteristic vegetation. The higher parts of the valley adjacent to the mountains support what he terms upland grass and brush zone, extending over three-fourths of the valley. Most of it is covered with a light growth of various grasses, but in the central and southern parts of the valley it includes extensive tracts of shrubs, especially creosote *(Covillea glutinosa)*, as well as groves of Yucca. Lying on the middle and lower parts of the stream-built slopes is a zone of mesquite covering about one-sixth of the valley surface and also extending as scattered tracts on the upper slopes. A small portion of the valley area is covered with sagebrush *(Artemisia filifolia)*. Low tracts, partly enclosed by the mesquite areas, support a zone of alkali vegetation—shadscale *(Atriplex canescens)*, *Suaeda suffrutescens*, alkali sacaton or bunchgrass *(Sporoholus airoides)*, and Mexican salt grass *(Eragrostis obtusiflora)*. Finally, in the lowest part of the flat in the north basin is an area of about fifty square miles practically destitute of vegetation.

RELATION TO NATURAL SURROUNDINGS

433 182 It is especially important to understand the Apache's relation to his natural surroundings because his economy proceeded almost entirely on a hunting and gathering level. There was a late introduction of agriculture which will be

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
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There was a late introduction of agriculture which will be described presently, but its influence always remained slight. The Apache's efforts were not directed toward improving upon nature's offerings, but rather upon utilizing the largest number of natural goods, and using each one to the best advantage.

The utilization of plants for food, drinks, and narcotics was but one facet of this process, of course. In succeeding bulletins we expect to give some indication of the degree to which wild plants were used for medicines and for the making of tools, weapons, and artifacts in general. Every tree and bush had been tested for its qualities in all cultural contexts. Any Chiricahua or Mescalero above middle age will tell you that mulberry wood made the finest bow and that locust runs it a close second for this purpose. The wood of the chokecherry bush was the universal favorite among these Apache for arrows. Oak was considered the most durable for the outer rim of the cradle-board. The Apache took pride in matching his materials to the purpose at hand.

But to appreciate the total round of Apache life and thinking, and to comprehend the significance of many features of the culture, our understanding of the Apache's relation to his natural surroundings must penetrate even further. That relation does not halt with a minute scrutiny of the environment and the practical applications which flow therefrom. It involves the Apache's world conception and his total relationship to nature.

The Apache, however arrogant may have been his relations with his fellowmen, was entirely cognizant of his abjectness and dependence before natural forces. He relied upon nature's bounty and suffered when drought or inclement weather curtailed it. He never lacked for vigorous enemies. He was ever a prey to frightening sicknesses. In the battle of wits between him and the wild game he stalked he was many times out-distanced. Whatever hazards he surmounted, there were always old age and death to strike him down at last. In the words of his own prayers, before the forces of nature he was "a poor fellow," and "a pitiable object."

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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181 182 82 In comparison to himself many natural forces seemed unaccountably potent. Cyclones uprooted trees and left him terror-stricken. The lightning struck and devastated. The sun shone strongly and the plants everywhere renewed life. The Apache saw himself at the mercy of all these forces. He recognized, moreover, how little he could accomplish by himself without the aid of the plants and animals which surrounded him. If the choke-cherry bush did not yield wood for arrows he was defenseless and unable to hunt. If the deer could not be found he lacked clothing and meat.

181 182 825 In addition, the traits he shared with other animals did not pass unnoticed for the Apache. He watched many of them prey on others as he was forced to do. He saw them seek food and shelter and fiercely protect their young. That comfortable gap which we have left between ourselves and all other life on the planet, the Apache bridged in a stride.

773 824 825 182 Apache mythology harkens back to a time when all creatures and objects could speak and move and showed human attributes. Later, everything was given its "way" and was differentiated from the human. But the qualities and capacities which these creatures and objects exercised in the mythological period, persist in them today in latent form. In the eyes of the Apache the natural world is potentially alive and aware of his problems. Trees, plants, animals, and insects do not ordinarily speak and assume human form, but if an Apache's need is extreme and he is worthy, any one of these may take pity on him and approach him thus to give him the requisite warning and advice.

182 824 825 Therefore the Apache, whether he is praying, or hunting, or acting the craftsman, is not dealing with dumb animals and inanimate plants as the white man would have it, but is concerned with natural objects which know well his intentions, how to thwart the impious and to reward the deserving. These animals and plants are thought to be willing to help the Apache and give of their seeds, fruit, hide, or meat—providing they are approached in the correct manner, with proper attention to rules and ritual which have existed from the time "the earth was new."

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
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787 right up to them and talk. You and I can't see it or hear it,
778 but they can. Like in one ceremony I saw: the shaman said in one place, "Everything is light. I see a big light." He saw it, but it was a pitch-dark night, and we couldn't see a thing.

771 The Chiricahua, like all people who have developed a religious
778 system, have had, in spite of the religious safeguards which they
756 affirm, to recognize the existence of failure, danger, death, and
754 evil. They account for them by a theory of the plasticity and
182 duality of power. Thus hateful individuals may employ complacent power for malevolent rather than kindly ends. Or the personified source of the power may itself be represented as malicious and may lead weak-willed shamans into dubious practices by deceit, threats, and promises. Therefore it is necessary to be constantly wary of cleverly veiled evil power (sorcery) and of ceremonialists (witches) who are not above using their rituals to harm, betray, or cause illness. Consequently, a substantial part
[796] of Chiricahua ceremonialism, perhaps its most dramatic aspect, is the contest with supernatural power between the shamans and the sorcerers. Sometimes a shaman who controls one type of supernatural power, who has been granted a ceremony from a natural force or a heavenly body, for instance, may be suspicious of rituals from contrasting sources, such as the animals of the earth. These views are exemplified in the excerpts which follow:

I came to know that power is not good or bad of itself. It is just power. It can be used for good or evil. It all depends on the
[796] person who has it. Look at the power from the Mountain
[532] People. (The Mountain People are mountain-dwelling supernaturals who guard the Chiricahua and their territory from
[535] harm. They are impersonated by masked dancers.) The Mountain People are good. They help the Chiricahua. We
[881] have them at the girl's puberty rite. But they can, to the Chiricahua mind, be used for evil too. A good many people think X. is a witch and uses Mountain Spirit power for evil. A good many people will not go through that Mountain Spirit ceremony of his. When it is going on, they get pretty far in the back; they are taking no chances. But there are others who think it is all right, who go through with it and consider X. a shaman.

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
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me about it. So tonight I will sing and talk to my power to find out whether it is all right to go on with it.

The lightest punishment for somehow offending the source of power is the loss of its cooperation and the voiding of the ceremony. Some Chiricahua fear misfortune and persecution by the power, in addition.

A person keeps his power by obeying his power source, by not leaving out anything. It is just as if you had men working under you; you like the man who does everything just so, but you turn out the man who doesn't carry out everything as you direct. If the mistake is not made intentionally the shaman and members of his family are not in danger, though.

When they have a ceremony, they always have to do it exactly right, and when they don't do it right, there is sickness or death in the family. I have noticed that if the rules are not followed just so, trouble comes,—a death or something. Power takes one of their family. That is why some people reject power when it is offered and want to remain as they are. There is a big penalty for not doing exactly what is laid down. If a shaman makes mistakes, says the prayers wrong, or something like that, he must repeat them.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 207–10.)

Normally, however, the Chiricahua shaman views his close association with his power source in a positive light. It provides him with a basis for appealing to supernatural power in time of emergency, for pleading with power, cajoling it, and even scolding it for non-performance of duty when it fails to heal or help.